

PEACE NEWS

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REMOVE OUR ANXIETY

"I HAVE been moving about the country, so have not seen Peace News since the end of July. I am quite lost without it! So will you kindly send me the numbers..." writes a reader.

We are of course able to meet such situations. But suppose we had to "move about the country" or resort to some other desperate expedients in order to try to ensure that all our readers were not similarly lost. And what if the loss should thus become irreparable?

Have you done all you can to make sure that we shall be able to meet that situation? Send now—and as often as possible—as much as you can afford toward doubling the present size of the Fighting Fund and so remove the anxiety. Last week's figure was £17 15s. 9d.

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Americans Vote 9-1 Against War

INDEPENDENT polls in the USA show overwhelming opposition to participation in the war. It is also clear that this sentiment has increased since the German attack on Russia.

"The next Gallup poll, with its insufficient 'sampling' and its pro-Administration policy, may fail to discover how far this has gone," commented Frederick J. Libby in Peace Action, (June), "but the many polls that are now being taken by Congressmen, newspapers, and others prove conclusively that this is the case."

In a postal ballot conducted by Representative Hamilton Fish of registered voters in his New York constituency, 27,423 were for America staying out of the war, and 3,038 for her participation.

Pointing out that the poll covered a typical cross-section of the public, Hamilton Fish said that he "had anticipated a 2 or 3 to 1 majority against war." He was "utterly amazed at the final 9 to 1 majority."

"The first day's poll," he added, "showed a 6 to 1 majority against war, but when Hitler declared war on Soviet Russia the poll jumped to over 9 to 1."

An impartial and comprehensive poll conducted in Neosho, Missouri—a typical Middle Western town—showed that over 70 per cent. of those adults who were prepared to commit themselves either way were against war.

A poll conducted by the Indianapolis News not only resulted in a 95 per cent. vote against war, but 92 per cent. against the use of American convoy ships.

In a poll conducted on a private housing estate on Long Island, New York, voting cards were addressed to the President. Of the 936 adults who voted, only 100 favoured American entry into the war.

The President was also sent a petition approved at a mass meeting of 1,000 students at the State College at Pullman, Washington, asking him to refrain from any act which might involve the nation in war.

BELGIUM NEAR FAMINE

Belgium is on "the verge of famine," said M. Paul Van Zeeland, former Belgian Prime Minister, in New York on Saturday.

The situation would be desperate, he added, if nothing was done to aid the Belgians before the winter. He suggested the sending of vitamins and proteins under a rigid control system.

The World Peace Club

by JOHN

MIDDLETON MURRY

Future world-peace depends on finding a solution which the four great nations of Germany, Russia, Britain, and America are willing permanently to accept and actively to uphold. If such a solution exists, the discovery and proclamation of it will do more than anything else to hasten the end of the war.

SO writes The Christian News-Letter. I enter the competition: which is to discover the rules of the World Peace Club. But before I get on to my solution, I would like to welcome the words as an indication that, in other than pacifist circles, the fearful problem of the present war-situation is beginning to be seen in its real magnitude. If such an honest declaration had prefaced the Roosevelt-Churchill pronouncement, it might have been less futile.

But the words are not quite as honest as they seem. When they have been expounded in the rest of the article from which they are taken it becomes clear that they conceal an assumption. Three of the four great nations who are to join the World Peace Club are to remain as they are; but one is to be changed.

The one to be changed is, of course, Germany. "It is taken for granted," the writer says, "that the defeat of Germany is the indispensable preliminary to the reconstruction of Europe. Little can be hoped for until the German people have learned once for all the futility of German militarism."

It is the familiar story, after all. "World-peace, of course," we say to Germany. "An organization of the world which will be accepted and upheld by the four great nations—only unfortunately, you have to be defeated first. Then you can come in, and be a member of the Club."

If Germany were to ask why the same entrance-fee was not to be paid by the other members, I do not know what our world-peace-planners would reply. Or what they could say if Germany were to point out that she had already founded a European Peace Club, with precisely the same entrance-fee as is asked from Germany, the difference being that the German Club is already in existence and that Germany has insisted on the entrance-fee being paid, cash-down.

The world-peace-planners might say it was a vulgar sort of club—almost Soho. The Germans might ask: Since when was the Bolshevik Boodle's established in Mayfair?

TO leave that aside—it would certainly be very, very nice if the Germans could be convinced that militarism does not pay. But what if it does pay? What if the Germans have set themselves, by dint of great sacrifices, to create a kind of militarism that does pay?

Surely enough, there was a time—at the end of the last war—when the Germans were in two minds about it. A good deal more than half of them had a hunch that militarism did not pay.

Instead of saying to them quietly: "Now you see, militarism does not pay. What pays is decency and mutual help and peace: we'll show you," we proceeded to indicate to them that the militarism that did not pay was defeated militarism. We took hell out of the defeated militarism of Germany.

So the average German—the German like you or me: as most of them are—said to himself very much what you or I would have said.

"Whether militarism pays or not, I don't really know. A four-year war doesn't pay. It doesn't pay to be defeated. Also it plainly doesn't pay to set up a democratic government instead of a militarist one. But suppose

we were to win next time. Suppose a really short, sharp war, instead of a long and bloody and exhausting one. It certainly couldn't pay worse, and it might pay infinitely better. It would put me in a job, anyway."

So when Hitler came along and said: "It's all damned nonsense, this poppycock that militarism doesn't pay. It doesn't pay when it is half-hearted. Put your backs into it this time boys! Follow me!"—they followed.

WAS he right, or was he wrong? We shall see. But he has a tremendous case—and a case which Britain cannot refute: by argument

Pacifists and that Atlantic Declaration

THE degree of enthusiasm with which the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration has apparently been met by certain sections of the peace movement, including some pacifist sections, is very disturbing. A statement of peace aims, such as we ourselves have urged from time to time, which might, as it were, supersede the war by presenting Europe with a really attractive alternative to Hitler's new order and ourselves with a programme of immediate reform, is one thing. But it is a very different thing from the document which Mr. Churchill brought across the Atlantic, and to chase after that document is to pursue a will o' the wisp and to neglect the pursuit of peace.

Some pacifists have apparently been deceived by the more attractive features of the declaration into mistaking a statement of abstract ideals for a contribution to peace. In doing so, incidentally, they have turned topsy-turvy and see those attractive features as basic and the parts which even they admit are unfortunate as mere qualifications to be removed by gentle criticism. But the thing reeks of the pre-war mentality, with its determination to restore "sovereign rights," its taking for granted the maintenance of "existing obligations" undertaken in a world of completely sovereign States, its allowing of the "freely expressed wishes" of separate peoples to determine the political and economic shape of Europe.

It is not with the declaration as an abstract statement of ideals, however, that we are concerned here, but with its usefulness or otherwise to the world in its present agony. As a contribution to a British victory it may conceivably be useful if it rallies a few more Americans to give a little more help and if it shakes a few more pacifists from their steadfast resolve to seek peace and persuades them instead to seek victory. But as a contribution to peace, what does it amount to? In the first place, it is not a commitment.

anyhow. For few achievements of militarism can have paid a nation more handsomely than the war by which we conquered India two hundred years ago. The dividends on that little investment have been colossal.

From the parliamentary Nabobs of the 1780's to the high-minded young undergraduates who look naturally for a job in the Indian Civil Service, generations of Englishmen have found India a gold-mine. Not to mention the blessed security of the India 4 per cents; or the generations of Lancashire cotton-manufacturers who reaped both capital and culture as camp-followers of Lord Clive. Why, it might even be argued that pretty well the whole of British Liberalism was originally financed by India! The two Mills, James the less, and John the greater, had their comfortable £2,000-a-year from East India House: in the days when £2,000-a-year was four times what it is now.

Oh, war pays right enough when it is successful. It even pays so well that it can pay for the Mills and the Cobdens—the inventors of the theory that it doesn't pay. When you have got all the territory and inhabitants you want by war, you can then finance liberty or universal free-trade, and say that everybody should follow suit in the matter of liberty or trade, but not in that of the blessed and original war.

Hitler has revived the once basic trade of Britain—successful war. He

(Continued on back page)

"One of the factors in the American position is the President's desire to discourage the impression that he made definite commitments when he conferred with the Prime Minister at sea," says the Washington Correspondent of The Times (Aug. 27), "and it is assumed that Mr. Churchill understands the position"—an obvious rap on the knuckles, incidentally, for the Premier's suggestion, three days before, that "the President of the United States and the British representative have jointly pledged their countries to the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny."

But even if it be regarded as a solemn undertaking to be observed "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny," and even if we can bring ourselves to repose child-like trust in victorious statesmen to act upon high ideals, the declaration still has no bearing on the immediate situation. For it contains no hope within itself of being the means of ending that tyranny. Looming very large in the contributory causes and present issues of this war is the German's, if not the European's, deep distrust of "democratic" intentions in seeking to control Europe—not by domination, if you like, but by division. That must be overcome if the Nazi tyranny is really to be ended by us, however many Nazis we may kill. And this document provides no rational hope whatever of diminishing that distrust. Even if it were unexceptionably worded, it could not wipe out a distrust that has been driven deep not by any insulting words of ours but by our injurious behaviour. Yet the only deed behind the words is the continuation of this ghastly war to its bitter end.

That is why we declare that the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration can lead us nowhere in the pursuit of peace and that if pacifists allow themselves to be carried away by it they will be led away from their true purpose.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY:
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

Second Thoughts About America Affecting Our Policy?

AFTER months of unrestricted wishful thinking about the USA the word has evidently gone forth that public expectation is to be moderated—if possible.

The Times (August 28) carried as its leading letter, under the title "Fools' Paradise," a scathing exposure by Mr. Philip Hewitt-Myring (whose name is unfamiliar to me) of "the acutely dangerous delusion that all we in this country have to do is to 'hold on' until American aid reaches us in 'overwhelming force.'"

What are the facts? They are not only that the powers of the American President are strictly limited, but that Mr. Roosevelt in particular has to face the most bitter and determined opposition from vast and important sections of the American community: that we are not at the moment getting aid from America on a scale that could be described, even by the wildest stretch of imagination, as "overwhelming," and that there is absolutely no guarantee that we will get it this year, next year, some time or—indeed—ever.

Those facts will not be new to readers of this commentary, in which what some have thought disproportionate attention has been given to the USA in the conviction that the chief obstacle in the way of a realistic attitude to the question of peace has been the irresponsible over-estimate of American readiness for war.

Premier's

BUT who, in this country, has done most to encourage these extravagant hopes of America? Surely, Mr. Winston Churchill.

Only last week, we had to protest against his misinterpretation of the "Atlantic Charter" in his broadcast of August 24. And as far back as six months ago, in a reckless reckoning of the man-power on either side in the struggle, Mr. Churchill added the population of the USA to that of the British Empire. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that ever since he took office as Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill has not scrupled to suggest to a public only too anxious for comfort that the USA was really "in the war"—and that "all aid short of war" meant all aid inclusive of war, and war in Europe.

It will not have been forgotten how, immediately after making a speech in which he anticipated an American army in Europe, he was obviously called to order by the President. In his next speech he turned about-face and coined the new slogan: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job." That appears to have been accepted by all but the extreme isolationists in America as a fair description of the relation between Britain and the USA. But

now Mr. Churchill is at it again. "The President of the United States and the British representative have jointly pledged their countries to the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny," whereas the President of the United States neither has done nor can do, anything of the kind.

What Aid for Russia?

THE capture of Dnepropetrovsk, and the consequent blowing-up of the great dam at Zapovozhe, announced by the Germans on Aug. 26 and admitted by the Russians on Aug. 28, is a very serious blow to Russia, both materially and morally. Materially because it deprives Russian heavy industry of 890,000 h.p. and thereby paralyses 40 per cent of it; morally, because the dam was the most significant symbol of the Revolution—the first major realization of Lenin's plan of electrification.

To be deprived of 40 per cent of one's heavy industry in total war is, on the face of it, a fatal handicap. No practically conceivable assistance from the USA or Britain can supply the loss. The Trans-Siberian railway could not carry the material, supposing it were at Vladivostok to be carried; nor could the transport through Iran cope with it. But there are no such supplies of war material in readiness.

According to the Washington correspondent of The Times (Aug. 27), "the Russians ask for concrete evidence of the Anglo-American promise of aid"; and, very noticeably, the proposed Anglo-American mission to Moscow to consider the ways and means of effective aid to Russia has been obstinately postponed. First one, then another, suggested American member of the mission drops out, till the final choice is Mr. Averell Harriman, who is without "political" significance; neither does what is called the bold acceptance of strategic necessities in Iran appear to have aroused any enthusiasm in the USA, even though it may open the only practicable way of giving the Russian material help where material help is needed.

Granted that the practical difficulties are enormous, I have the strong impression that when it comes to giving Russia material help, neither capitalist America nor capitalist Britain means business. Somehow the granting of a credit to Russia of a beggarly 10 millions sterling smelt all wrong, although at the rate supplies are actually reaching Russia even that modest amount will last a long while.

Eden's Speech

MR. EDEN'S speech at Coventry on Aug. 30 was interesting for two reasons. First, as showing that the recent leader in The Times has had to be still further explained away. This article contended that the "leadership" of Eastern Europe must fall either to Germany or Russia, and that neither Britain nor America after the war would be able to maintain any solution which had not the backing of one of those great Powers; and we, of course, had to allow Russia a free hand. Now Mr. Eden reassures Poland and Turkey.

In virtue of their geographical position

and their own national qualities Poland and Turkey would both be called upon to play an important part in international affairs after the war.

That is comforting; and it commits nobody to anything.

Secondly, and much more significantly, Mr. Eden elaborated his declaration in the House of Commons on Aug. 6.

Recently I stated that our policy toward Germany after the war must have a two-fold purpose. On the one hand Germany must be placed in conditions in which it would be impossible for her again to rearm and to resume the struggle for domination over peace-loving nations. On the other hand it was equally important that she should not become a source of poison to her neighbours and to the world by economic collapse.

Today I would go a step farther. These two fundamental principles must govern not only our relations with Germany after the war, but all international relations. This is the plain meaning of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration.

No nation must ever be in a position to wage aggressive war against her neighbours; and secondly, economic relations must be so regulated that no nation can in future be starved out of its proper economic position by autarchy (sic) methods of trade arbitrarily imposed; for autarchy, whether in political affairs or economic affairs, means anarchy.

Important Questions

NOW that statement is either, (1) nonsense; or (2) full of important meaning; or (3) a mixture of both. It seems to mean that not only Germany but all nations will be "disarmed" in the sense of being rendered incapable of waging aggressive war.

No doubt it is assumed—and there is an element of truth in it—that Britain and the USA are incapable of waging aggressive war, because they are "democracies" and cannot get the flying start necessary nowadays. And, no doubt, it is also assumed that British naval power is always peaceful, whereas, for example, Japanese naval power is not. But how on earth is the USSR to be rendered incapable of waging aggressive war without making her impotent to repel attack either by Germany or Japan?

Moreover, as it is now increasingly coming to be realized, the capacity to make modern war, whether aggressive or otherwise, is directly dependent upon a nation's industrial capacity and primarily upon its capacity in heavy industry. The only practical meaning we can attach to Mr. Eden's new formula is that heavy industry in every country shall be under international control. Is this what he means? If so has he any means of knowing whether the steel industry of the USA—the greatest in the world—is ready to be internationalized?

by LAURENCE
HOUSMAN

The Corruption of Power

"POWER," said Lord Acton, the historian, "is always corrupting: absolute power is absolutely corrupting." A very startling, and a very disturbing statement, if true.

For surely power of some sort is necessary for the efficient working of the human machine, individual and social: it is impossible to imagine any form of organization which has not some form of power behind it; and the exercise of that power must lie in human hands, either individual or collective.

Does it follow that whatever social system we devise for ourselves having in it an element of disciplinary power, must be corrupting in its results, until mankind shall have reached such an ideal standard of philosophic anarchy as will make each individual, from the cradle to the grave, so highly civilized that laws and rules will have become superfluous, and discipline, imposed from without, at no point necessary?

I think it would be more true to say that power is always a temptation, and absolute power an irresistible temptation unless over-ruled by love.

The power which parents have over their children, even though conditioned by love and good will, and, if wisely exercised, beneficent in its results, is certainly not free from temptation; if exercised inconsiderately, despotically, it may be just as corrupting to family life as a similar exercise of power is in the political or social world; or as we now see it operating internationally. The helplessness of childhood makes it possible for parental power to be practically absolute; and, for the parent who so uses it, it becomes as absolutely corrupting as power in the hands of the dictator over a nation.

THE EVIL OF POWER-POLITICS

It would seem, then, that power is so inherent in human relations that,

though it may be safeguarded, it cannot be eliminated; and Lord Acton's dictum would seem mainly to have been concerned with that form of power which finds expression in "power-politics." All pacifists would admit that, in that direction the charge is unanswerable: that the outcome of power-politics always has been and always must be deeply corrupting, and that the larger the scale of success so brought about, the greater the accompanying corruption.

For that judgment we have the unusual but welcome support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his statement that "power-politics are the absolute negation of Christianity"; and, for Christians at any rate, anything which is the absolute negation of that must be regarded as absolutely corrupting, and therefore should be absolutely repudiated.

Yet in States and communities which claim to be Christian power-politics are a commonplace of long standing; and their products are not only accepted with pride or complaisant indifference but are defended to the death against any foreign "aggressor." "What we have we hold!" is cried by a certain school of politicians as though it expressed a divine right (quite irrespective of how we came by it)—whether the holding be India or Gibraltar, or one of our African colonies, such as Kenya, where the best of the land is taken from the native for the benefit of the white settler, and where taxes are imposed not to better the condition of the native, but for the sole purpose of extracting from him the forced labour without which the white man's occupation of the country would be impossible.

Racial domination is a clear case of the corruption of an exercise of extended power which has not had love and good will as its main motive. Exploitation, however well-conducted, even if it raises (as in some cases it

may) the life-standard of the exploited, is always corrupting to the nation which so acquires increase of power. The mere mental attitude of "What I have I hold," which it produces, is in itself corrupting—substituting the claim to bear rule for the claim to give service, which is the only true claim to which power has a right.

NEED FOR GOOD WILL

No honest reader of history can fail to see that, hitherto, increase of national power has not been accompanied by increase of good will toward other nations: that the higher races have been the aggressor races, priding themselves on every aggression that has given them increase of power. And so (coming to our own day) the League of Nations has proved itself a failure, because it was never sufficiently based upon good will.

Though devised to arrest war, it has remained a mere calculating machine, with the self-interest of the predominant Powers as its main motive. In its consultations, manoeuvring for position, in terms of power instead of in terms of good will, was the recurrent feature; when concessions were made to the defeated nations they were only made because oppressive conditions had failed to produce the wished-for results; never, from end to end of its now suspended career, did it perform one act of disinterested generosity toward those whom it held in its power. Because its house was built upon sand its house has fallen, and great has been the fall of it.

This is but one example of the misuse and resultant wastage of a new instrument of power, which modern civilization had devised for its greater comfort and security, and had not the sense, because it had not the good will, to put to a right use.

(To be continued)

On The Right Lines

IN its present tentative form, it seems to me one of the half-baked, ill-digested ideas for the amelioration of the world which it is the peculiar privilege of Anglo-Saxon statesmen to put forward.

I cannot help wondering who Mr. Eden had in mind when he said that in future no nation must be starved out of its proper economic position by autarchic methods of trade arbitrarily imposed. The phrasing suggests that Germany is being incriminated; but in fact it is the British Empire (Ottawa Agreement) and the USA (Hawley-Smoot) who have most grievously offended in this matter during the last twenty years.

Nevertheless, I welcome Mr. Eden's statement. It shows that the Government is really beginning to think—at present with a kind of schoolboy ingenuousness—about its own ideas of a European "new order." The more thinking it does along this line the better; for the nearer it will come to a preparedness for peace.

It is highly probable that the real motive of this exploration of a new order, palatable to Anglo-Saxons, is the realization that the USA is a good deal farther from entering the war than she was six months ago. Britain cannot afford any longer to indulge in the dream that "we must win the war first; we can talk of peace aims afterwards." The discussion that has now begun will not cease.

Fixing the Responsibility

H. writes: I listened in to Churchill last night (Aug. 24); and this is to say I hope you will have noted—and will deal with—a very flagrant bit of dishonesty in his attack on France for throwing over Czechoslovakia at the time of Munich. He quite omitted to say that France had been warned that, if she went to war over Czechoslovakia, this country would not back her.

Previously to that, she had been induced by Chamberlain to join in bringing pressure on the Czechs to agree to terms; while Chamberlain had also made two public declarations—that the treaty (which invented Czechoslovakia) was "untenable," and that he could not call on this country to fight for a people "about whom we knew nothing." (Why, then, for Poland?)

Balance of Power Policy

SUPPORT for your reference to our traditional "divide and rule" policy toward Europe as toward India (writes T.J.E.W.) is to be found in the writing of no less an authority than the late General Sir William Robertson, who in August, 1916, at the time when he was Chief of the Imperial General Staff, wrote in a memorandum dated the 31st of that month:

"For centuries past—though unfortunately by no means continuously—our policy" (that is, the policy of our rulers) "has been to help to maintain the balance between the Continental Powers which have always been divided by their interests and sympathies into opposing groups. At one time the centre of gravity has been in Madrid, at another in Vienna, at another in Paris, and at another in St. Petersburg."

"We have thwarted, or helped to thwart, each and every Power in turn which has aspired to Continental predominance; and concurrently as a consequence we have enlarged our own sphere of imperial ascendancy. As part of this traditional policy we have aimed at maintaining British maritime supremacy, and at keeping a weak Power in possession of the Low Countries. In more recent years a new preponderance has been allowed to grow up, of which the centre of gravity has been in Berlin, and the result of it is the present war."

War Memoirs of David Lloyd George. (Vol. I, p. 4886: Odhams' Press edition.)

The Danger of Power

A remarkable letter appeared in The Times on Aug. 26 from Professor L. P. Jacks under the title "Peace and Power." It should serve to make clear to anyone who does not simply rely on slogans that the achievement of "overwhelming power" as a means of securing the peace of the world is hopelessly impractical. For he points out that

a power might be overwhelming in the sense of being twice as big as any power likely to oppose it, and yet ill compacted, mishandled, or too big to be manageable, in which case it would lose its overwhelming character and be liable to overthrow by a well compacted, skilfully handled, and manageable power half its size. It might be vested in weak, incompetent Governments and by them put into action at the wrong moment, or conceivably not put into action at all—and with the same result. Under these conditions its arithmetically overwhelming character would be nothing to the purpose.

Professor Jacks is able to think of people "in living memory" in whose hands a quantitative superiority of force would not only not be overwhelming but "might be more of a danger to peace than a security," and he would feel only "fairly satisfied" that it would be "effective for its purpose, and do what those who advocate its creation believe it would," in the hands even of statesmen like Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt.

A Better Way

SO Dr. Jacks asks for "some reasonable assurance" that "a supply of wise and vigorous statesmanship will be forthcoming to control" such a force. He even feels a special safeguard is needed against its falling under the control, "or even the influence," of pacifist Governments, Prime Ministers, or Presidents! What conceivable safeguard could there be that the possible future controllers of the force would meet so exacting a standard—especially if, as the slogan-shouters generally indicate, a very large number of governments is to be

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LETTERS

The Peace Pledge NOW

I HAVE reached the same conclusions as Mary Gamble, in *Peace News* of August 22. I await, without much hope, an equally clear and forthright rebuttal of the argument from those who share Maurice Rowntree's misgivings, given in a earlier issue.

I write to suggest that all of us soberly anticipate the crisis in our movement when each member faces up squarely to the challenge of "Peace at any price—War on no account," which is the core of the Pledge and which derives urgent topicality from the possibility, one of these days, of a negotiated peace.

Here, thank God! lurks no possibility of anaemic compromise, for it's a principle that is at stake, not a programme. You either hold that the shooting and the bombing and the starving are the supreme evil, or you don't. If terror, slavery, broken pledges, and all the rest of it (see Joad, Milne, and other converts) under the Nazi yoke (no harm in using their language) is more intolerable, and a continuation of the war (with the noblest of motives, of course) preferable—well, comrade, its the parting of the ways for you and me at least.

I don't ask you to tear up your Pledge card: it may have sentimental value for you. But I do know that the PPU has lost its pivotal unity if you and I are many. We were never unanimous about the implications of the Pledge: we aren't now even in agreement about the Pledge itself.

Disband, then? Not on your life. So long as there are two or more who believe that the Pledge still means what it meant in the less perplexing days, the Peace Pledge Union I joined will continue to exist. It will not be necessary to invent another.

ANDREW STEWART

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COMMENTARY

(Continued from page 2)

involved? All of which presupposes that the creation of such a force is itself possible—a point on which its advocates should also do some realistic thinking, with special reference to the difficulties still being experienced in the two or three richest countries of the world of creating sufficient force to overwhelm an actual and known enemy. It would be very much easier (not to say morally preferable!) to create a policy which, by its justice and generosity, would overwhelm any aggressor in the embryo stage! And the controllers of policies, unlike the controllers of force, are inseparable from what they would control; so that at least there is not the double problem involved.

Japan and Australia

WHAT is the position of Japan? And Australia? Mr. Churchill's broadcast, (Aug. 24) which was welcomed for its firmness with Japan, was in fact a plain appeal for a "peaceful" accommodation. Had it come from Mr. Chamberlain, it would have been called appeasement.

What pressure the Australian Government is able to exert is being exerted in the same direction. Possibly the deadlock in Australian politics, which has compelled the resignation of Mr. Menzies, is caused by disagreement on policy toward Japan. It is conceivable that the powerful Australian Labour Party, which has refused to form a Coalition Government, is less eager for accommodation with Japan than Mr. Menzies.

But now that Mr. Menzies appears to have been disowned by his own party, the Australian situation is very confusing to the uninitiated. If this should catch the eye of any Australian reader who will lighten my darkness, I shall be grateful indeed.

Decision Rests With U.S.A.

BUT to return—why should Mr. Churchill be so anxious for a peaceful arrangement with Japan? Why should all the big talk about freezing Japanese assets amount to nothing? The question hardly needs answering. If you can prevent an increase in the number of your active enemies, you move heaven and earth to do so.

On the other hand, Japan is in a position to drive a very hard bargain. Her natural sympathies are much more with Germany than the Western democracies—it is safe to say she has no natural sympathy at all with us. The object of her policy is essentially similar to that of Germany's policy: the Japanese "co-prosperity sphere" in the East is the analogue of the German "new order" in Europe.

If she is to refrain from acting in full accord with her political sympathies, and purport it will be simply because she is afraid of what the USA may do. Great Britain is, at present, powerless in the Far East. Without American assistance nothing can be done to check the Japanese advance. Everything therefore depends upon the decision of the USA. But if the USA decides to defend Australia and the Dutch East Indies, or to make it known to Japan that she is ready to defend them, she will certainly not commit herself an inch further in Europe.

"Let Us Be Practical"

IN your issue of July 25 under the above heading, Roy T. Davidson writes as if the only alternative to the prolongation of the war is a negotiated peace, which at this time would mean acceptance on our part of ruthless oppression of the whole of Europe by Nazi rulers. But is that the only alternative? The chief and greatest facts to be faced today are the starvation, the misery and the fear of the mass of European people. Such conditions must be ended before winter comes to intensify them. There must be bolder action, both morally and physically, than that which war demands.

Let Britain (people and government) propose an armistice—not to consider peace terms, or any political or military propositions, but in order to save the people: first to feed and clothe them, then to house them, and to establish their security by working out a plan of economic co-operation for the whole of Europe.

Without permitting any interim vacuum of argument and bargaining, there must be a complete change from destruction to construction by the creation now of new life and hope. And if Britain wants to win the peace, Britain must take the initiative. It is no absurdity to suggest that such a proposal broadcast throughout the world (above all to the Axis populations) would meet with vehement response from all over Europe and the world. If managed with the skill and devotion which have been given to the war, its effects would be as incalculable for true peace as the chief events in the present war have been for the war. It is not impossible that Germans and Italians would emerge at last from their soulless captivity.

There is no fancy thinking and castle-building in this proposal. It is a practical suggestion for the fulfilment of the most urgent need in the world. It demands its price, which is, however, the world's best investment. Such work has been done before, though too late to save millions of lives. It is being done now on a minute scale by small groups. It can be done on a grand scale by co-operation. Only the will is wanted. But would any people or government dare to say they have not the will?

ISABEL S. H. ASHBY

5 Sandown Road, Leicester.

A BAD CASE OF PERSECUTION

THE dismissal of Dr. Iorwerth Peate from his position as keeper of the Department of Folk Culture in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, which was briefly announced last week, is one of the most astounding examples of persecution that have occurred during the war.

Dr. Peate was unconditionally registered as a CO on July 23. Almost immediately afterwards an emergency committee was called, and within three weeks a special meeting of the Council of the National Museum met to consider its recommendations. As a result Dr. Peate was suddenly dismissed, and the preposterous disclaimer published that his dismissal had nothing to do with his being registered unconditionally as a CO.

Dr. Peate has been a pioneer in the establishment of a department of Folk Culture of which the Welsh people may well be proud. There is nothing to compare with it, as far as we know, in any other museum in Great Britain: it is an expression of the best kind of nationalism.

We are glad to hear that the protests are already gathering momentum and they will unite the most diverse elements. For Iorwerth Peate had become, by his work at the Museum, his poetry and his broadcasts, a national figure.

BAN ON MURIEL LESTER

Miss Muriel Lester, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has been prevented from leaving Trinidad by the authorities on the ground that her activities are directly contrary to British interests in war-time, according to a report published on Saturday. She was on her way from South America to China, Japan and India, and planned to lecture.

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Group Notes

Southern Vitality (SOUTHERN AREA)

By JOHN BARCLAY

THE "momentum of development" is already becoming noticeable. It needs the support of every member concerned to make possible the regular pulse-beat of a healthy organism. Last week I reported the results of the first area conference and this week I have news of the meeting of the Southern Area at Southampton.

Both conferences had two obstacles to success—long distances and recent losses of active members due to evacuation and tribunal decisions. Both these considerable obstacles were overcome in each case. At Southampton fresh appointments were made which will introduce new energy as well as administrative experience to the Area Committee.

The Southern Area consists of five regions: Bournemouth, West Sussex, E. Hants and W. Surrey, West Hants, Isle of Wight—of these the Isle of Wight is at present isolated. In the past the Bournemouth Region, by far the most active and best organized of the five, has remained largely outside the zone of area activity and slightly opposed to development in this direction. One very important result of the meeting last Sunday was the generous backing given by the eight delegates from Bournemouth. The possibilities opened up by their co-operation are tremendous.

The meeting, which was under the chairmanship of William Hope Gill, whose dynamic sincerity and enthusiasm never flag for an instant, was supported by 42 members, representing 13 groups. With the experience of Maidstone behind me I was able to put more clearly before the conference the aims of the Development Committee and to underline emphatically the essential first steps needed to make the scheme a success. These first steps would seem to be:

- (1) The setting up of an active Area Committee drawing its members from each of the Regions in the Area.
- (2) The putting into practice immediately of the Nottingham Scheme, or similar method of collecting funds.
- (3) The establishing of capable Regional Committees to keep in touch with groups and members.

In both the areas so far visited I have found the utmost willingness to make the sacrifice needed for success, and since the demand for area organ-

ization and development has come from the areas themselves, this is very encouraging. Much more effort, however, will have to be made—nothing happens except we make it happen. Development concerns not only committees but individuals. The need for closer linking-up of groups is becoming urgent and this calls for initiative and hard work from everyone.

One interesting result of the voting for officers to serve on the new Area Committee at Southampton was that three of the posts were filled by women: Chairman of Area Committee, Miss G. Bagwell; vice-Chairman, William Hope Gill; Treasurer, (to be confirmed) and Secretary, Miss Elsie Yates, 65 Shakespeare Road, Eastleigh, Hants. The meeting coincided with the annual meeting of the old Area Committee, and Gordon Seager, the present Area Representative on the National Council, tendered his resignation. This was accepted with great regret and his place is to be filled by Mrs. Ida Hillman from Bournemouth.

On Saturday, September 6, the East Midlands Area are holding their conference at Leicester (3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House). Stuart Morris and John Barclay will be speaking.

ACTIVITY

Development Committee.—At the first meeting of the Development Committee on August 31 an application from the Mid-Bucks. Region was received, asking that the counties of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire should be recognised as an Area. After carefully studying the position in relation to the other Areas, the Committee agreed to this request and a new Area has been formed, making 17 altogether.

Blackheath.—The new Dick Sheppard Centre at 146 Blackheath Hill, S.E.3, (near "Green Man" 53a bus stop) will be opened on Saturday, September 6, at 6.30 p.m. Vera Brittain will be speaking and all who can attend are invited to take part in a discussion on the aims and possible uses of the Centre. Tea will be provided.

On September 9 at the same address at 7.45 p.m. Maurice Rowntree will be speaking. **South-East London Region.**—A meeting will be held on September 10 at Davenport Hall, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, S.E.6 at 7 p.m. Speaker will be Stuart Morris; the subject, "Pacifism—What Now?" Ronald Smith will be in the chair. It is hoped that all members will attend as it is necessary to form a regional committee as soon as possible.

Today (Friday) at the same address at 7 p.m. the Rev. David A. Vaughan will speak on "The Dynamics of a New World Order": meeting arranged in conjunction with FCO and FoR.

J.B.

DOROTHEA SHARPE

THE death has occurred of Miss Dorothea Sharpe, who has been a voluntary worker at Headquarters since the days of 96 Regent Street. Miss Sharpe was responsible for the re-organization of the library and had become its honorary librarian.

During one of the recent severe air raids on London her flat was utterly destroyed and she lost all her personal belongings. The shock was very great and she never fully recovered. She died in St. Pancras Hospital after a very short illness. Her loss will be very keenly felt by everybody at Headquarters.

She was the eldest daughter of Cecil Sharpe and a niece of H. W. Nevins. Mrs. Nevins was present at the funeral on Tuesday morning at Golders Green crematorium; John Barclay represented the PPU.

London Committee for COs is holding a special "week" in aid of its funds from Sept. 6 to 13. Further particulars from Ernest Heimann, 79 Kenilworth Court, Putney, S.W.15.

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"That's Different"

"WAS there a raid last night, Miss Jones?" I asked as I paid my weekly rent. "I thought I heard three bombs."

"Yes, I heard something, bombs or guns, but there was no siren. It's been quiet lately, but I suppose he'll bomb us again soon, or do you think he won't?" she added with hope in her voice.

Before I could answer she continued, "They do say it's a good thing Russia coming in, but I don't know. What do you think?" And again before I could reply added darkly, "I've heard some queer things about Russia."

"Have you?" I managed to get in, "do tell me what."

But beyond the statement that anyway the Church was very queer in Russia she wasn't to be drawn.

"You know, I think the thing to do is go on bombing them, don't you?"

At last I was able to get a word in—just one.

"Why?"

"Well, they'll give in if we go on bombing them."

"Do you think we shall give in if they go on bombing us then?"

"No, but that's different."

"Why is it different?"

"Well, they do say the Germans are different."

"But what do you think yourself? You've known Germans. You've had them staying here. Have you found them any different?"

"But they do say all foreigners are different—now look at the French."

"Well, what about the French?"

"They gave in." And so did I.

G.

NEWS OF C.O.s

MORE MEN New Plans for
JAILED Women

FRESH examples of what seems to be a general "drive" against COs who have refused to undergo medical examination are provided by the following cases.

Reginald Doddemeade, of Leyton, and Norman Gilbertson, of Bristol, were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment at Stratford police court on Thursday of last week. At Tottenham police court on the same day similar sentences were imposed upon D. S. Marlborough, H. V. Wright, R. C. T. James, R. J. Bailey, and J. W. Arnold, who had refused to obey a court order that morning that they should be medically examined. (The last-named was Peace News distributor in Palmers Green and district).

Three COs (names not reported) received sentences of 12 months at Leicester on the same day, for disobeying similar court orders; they had been fined £5 earlier in the week for not submitting to examination and the orders had then been made.

John Robinson, Literature Secretary of Birmingham PPU, and Stan Rowe, whose brother was for many years the Midlands organizing secretary of the No More War Movement, were sentenced on Monday last to three months' imprisonment for refusal to submit to medical examination. Leslie Price and Leslie Sutton, two other Birmingham PPU members, were sentenced by the same court. Leslie Price was an enthusiastic member of the local Peace News Committee and was responsible for many artistic posters advertising the paper which appeared in a prominent position in the city. These four COs had been on remand for three days. Before that, they had been serving a term of one month's imprisonment in Winsor Green Gaol and, on the morning when they were due to be brought before the court, were welcomed by a large crowd of pacifists.

J. R. F. Holden, of Stockport, was fined £2 on July 14 and a further £10 on the second stage after refusing examination the next day.

Selwyn Griffiths and H. L. Knowles were detained, but not fined, by order of the Salford magistrate on July 23; on refusing examination they received sentences of 10 months. They were reported in the August bulletin of the North-Western Regional Board for COs to be out on bail pending appeal to Quarter Sessions. The bulletin also reported that forthcoming cases would include W. B. Greenhalgh, of Radcliffe; Thomas Hitchmeth, of Leigh; F. C. Turner and Terence T. Davies, of the Manchester area.

John Archibould, of Bolton, was sentenced to 12 months' hard labour on August 7 for refusal to comply with a court order to submit to examination.

Henry Parudominski, of Brighton, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment at Brighton last Friday. The previous day he had been fined £2 and been ordered to be detained for examination.

Ray Finn, of Bournemouth (known locally as a keen Peace News seller), received a six months' sentence the week before last.

"Absentee"—W. J. Brown, of Bow, told Old Street police court on Thursday of last week: "I registered as a conscientious objector, but I have never had any papers for that. I want a trial for being a conscientious objector." He was accused of being an absentee from a searchlight training regiment since June 9, and was remanded in custody.

Refusal to sign his Identity Card on conscientious grounds resulted in T. Pilling, of Nelson, receiving a sentence of one month on July 31.

For refusing to sign the National Register, to produce his Identity Card, and to fire-watch at his place of employment Herbert Price, of Bolton, received a sentence of 3 months' hard labour.

CLASSIFIED MISCELLANEOUS

ALL pacifists who are members of the Labour Party should communicate with Sybil Morrison, Organizing Secretary of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship, Redcap, Greenstreet Green, Farnborough, Kent.

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A NOURISHING
FOOD CADBURY'S
BOURNVILLE
PLAIN
CHOCOLATE

"TIGHTENING UP" of the procedure affecting the call-up of women for industry is the object of new instructions sent to Labour Exchanges last weekend concerning the working of the Registration for Employment Order.

Mr. G. H. Ince, Director-General of Man-Power at the Ministry of Labour called it "compulsory direction," not "conscription." But he added that a woman not responding when called-up would be "in much the same position as a conscientious objector who refuses to be medically examined." This possibility of prosecution has always existed under the Order. It still remains to be seen how far the Ministry will do more than threaten to prosecute women for refusal to undertake work to which they are "directed." Compulsion cannot be used to secure women for the Services.

The steps now to be taken include: Interviews on a more selective basis; Limitation of services and employments to which women may go; curtailment of the list of reserved occupations; lifting of age limit for certain jobs.

Onus of proving indispensability to fall on employers; domestic reasons preventing transfer must be proved.

For the time being exemptions from interview will be given only to those who are:

In full-time paid employment by concerns doing 75 per cent. or more Government work, or are engaged on export, except in industries in which "concentration" is being applied;

In full-time work in industries scheduled under the Essential Work Order;

Included in the schedule of Reserved Occupations; or married women responsible for a household.

When women of the 1915 class registered on Saturday press reports stated that they could expect a quicker call-up than those already registered.

FOUNDATIONS OF
PEACE CONVENTION

From a Special Correspondent

THE pacifist point of view was well represented at a convention held at Cambridge all last week to discuss the Foundations of Peace. Organized by the Vedanta Society in co-operation with other movements, it was attended by more than sixty delegates from different national organizations.

The various faiths represented at the convention included the Jewish, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, Vedantic, Christian, and the view of the World Congress of Faiths.

At the morning sessions leaders of various religious beliefs expressed their views, and in the evenings social and political aspects of peace were considered.

Stuart Morris, general secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, spoke of the need for love in the building of peace, and defined love as "a right relationship between myself and others even if I find myself unable to like them."

Representing, in the words of St. Augustine, that "Peace is the order of tranquility," he laid special emphasis on the power of propaganda to distort the mind. It was with the type of man swayed by the event of the moment that a new world had to be built.

Another PPU member, B. N. Langdon-Davies, put forward the view that wars were caused by a small aggressive minority who exploited the passive majority. The aim of education, he said, should be to develop a healthy aggressiveness in all children so that they would not be exploited in this way.

Reginald Sorensen, MP, made a strong plea for "Sanity in Politics." He said that the only thing which could bring about the birth of a new order was good will. This was not mere sentimentality but hard common sense, for once one allowed hatred to creep in then there was no knowing where it would end.

Leslie Stubbings put forward a plea for a careful study of community as a foundation of peace. Geoffrey Pittcock-Buss, speaking on behalf of the Youth Service League, claimed that neither politics nor culture was sufficient in itself, but that a synthesis should be aimed at. He suggested that the counter-revolutionary force of fascism was greater than the revolutionary force of socialism, and that in the face of increasing repression it was necessary to find means to establish the foundations of peace in a totalitarian atmosphere.

Dr. W. Stede, of the School of Oriental Studies, London University, in a philosophic view of the ideal of peace, claimed that a peaceful society was only possible through faith. The ideal of peace was, he said, governed by two factors: firstly, that it could never be realized because it was an ideal; secondly that it should always be thought to be realizable.

World Peace Club

Continued from p. 1

has revived it in the spirit of the age, to accord with modern methods: industrialized, rationalized, mass-produced, with high-pressure ballyhoo, called propaganda, which doesn't only exalt his own machine as the best ever, but has a vulgar way of pointing out where the rival one breaks down.

He has swept the European market. And we are indignant. And we say he shan't come into the Club. Trade follows the flag—that was pukka. Trade follows the panzer—"Blood-thirsty guttersnipe!"

★

I HATE war; I loathe modern war. But I believe it can be made to pay. And if it can be made to pay, what has a capitalist civilization to say against it? It has never respected any other standard. Whatever pays, is good. Whatever doesn't, isn't.

That doesn't mean that a situation may not be reached—pretty soon—in which it will be evident to Germany that war doesn't pay. When Germany is as comfortably off as Britain or America, she will discover in herself the same reluctance to make war.

That shows the most hopeful way of getting her into the World Peace Club. Make the entrance-fee the same for everybody. Let her, too, qualify for respectability by the profits of a successful war. There is nothing that makes a great nation so peaceful as having a packet to lose.

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PHOTOGRAPHIC dept. now closing. We thank all friends for generous support.—Myddle Park Settlement, Salop.

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PUBLIC MEETING, LLOYD PARK
PAVILION, WALTHAMSTOW.
Sunday, September 14th, at 3 p.m.
"PEACE AIMS AND POST-WAR
RECONSTRUCTION"

Gerald Bailey, M.A. Director of Nat. Peace Council. Chairman: E. C. Redhead. Admission free; a limited number of reserved seats at 6d. each. Tickets and further details from Geoffrey Stedman, 133 Endlebury Road, E.4.

ADVERTISEMENTS

LITERATURE &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

READ Pamela Kellins' vivid story of slum life, *This Little Hand*, published by Robert Hale. "The reader is left with the impression of sober imaginative truth"—Times Literary Supplement.

READ the September issue of *War Commentary*, the anarchist paper; from Freedom Press 27, Belsize Road, London N.W.6, 3d. post free. Subscription rates, *War Commentary* and Supplement: 6 months 2s. 6d.; 1 year 5s.

MEETINGS, &c.

CONFERENCE: Saturday, September 13, 3 p.m.—8 p.m. Rev. Albert Belden—"Complete Relevance of Pure Pacifism." Tea. "Rise of Ultimate Man." Ashville Hall, Ashville Rd., Leytonstone (off Grove Green Road). No fee. Details, 200 Francis Rd., E.10.

DONALD Port will be the speaker at a PPU group meeting on Wednesday, September 10, at 7.30 p.m. at Friends House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe. All welcome.

PACIFISTS should attend the series of lectures on anarchism at Freedom Press Rooms, 27 Belsize Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.6., every Friday at 7 p.m. Admission free.

SITUATIONS VACANT

CYCLE repairer, experienced or willing to learn, required immediately.—Apply 50b, Ealing Rd., Wembley.

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WOMAN wanted take temporary charge small boy (14 months) October, November, give experience.—Spence, Pitt, Appledore, Devon.

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PACIFIST TEACHER, unconditional exemption, urgently requires teaching post or youth service work. B.A., Honours French, subsidiary English, Latin; Teacher's Diploma.—Write B. Stoddard, 56 Albert Rd., Manchester 19.

YOUNG lady, part pacifist, present employment boxmaker, seeks change of situation in Ilford and surrounding districts.—Box 910 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

PAUL D. ABBOTT, 3 Defoe Avenue, Kew Gardens, Surrey, will be glad to hear from any C.O. anticipating imprisonment in the near future.